[Additional information on the bope or evil spirits (the souls of dead shamans who normally dwell in the sky but occasionally visit earth), may be found in category 776.]

/298 cont./

614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

[113]

1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 [114] counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the Ki, three for the Bādejeba, seven for the Āróre, five for the Ewåguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Río Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[775] [787] The maximal expression of the system then would be the following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 [706] Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and [237] [825] executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 [756] Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 776 745 [821] [783] [262] [756] [787] [773] Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

(1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 756 [787] [754] A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

771 756 755 [562] [262] [778]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony.

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes.

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted.

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east.

lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage, which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one. The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned—and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important—they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 361 82 [101] 562 [775] The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings, the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies and the domain of men and Aroe--the spirits or souls--which the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It [77] 222 229 is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope. Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the [551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] [539] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was ariqao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo. Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

them their names. The learning of names continues even when people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most important material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.

The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge, who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the villages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties, clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They said to aroe echeba:

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together--they are all cultural acts.

Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the birds and he created the food they eat. He created the animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is

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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

776 5. Human vs. non-human; mortal vs. eternal

Bope is not part of the human race. "He does not get sick, he does not get old, he does not die. He does not have a human mother. He does not have a mother, a father, a companion."[1] He is eternal.

775 Aroe, on the other hand, have their human mothers; they are the souls of the dead; they are the ancestors of the Bororo, i.e., the things first seen and named. In the afterlife they have to go through different tests, and it may happen that they vanish completely over the precipice of Akarubo; they are mortal.

82 6. Conscious vs. unconscious; multiplicity vs. unity

775 The Badajebage were the first to see the plaza, but they
776 did not become aware of it. To see something is not enough; it should be consciously perceived and named. Anything seen and named for the first time is Aroe. To see something and to give it a name is to isolate it from the continuity of amorphous, undifferentiated unconscious matter (Bope). It is a cultural process by which the universe is taken apart so that it can be comprehended. There are many names, there are many Aroe, but Bope is just one. Bope is one, yet he has a wife; and he and his wife are still conceived of as one. And he has children; and he and his wife and children

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[1] "Kogodu kare, pega kare, bi kare. Paje kare ji. Uche kare, uwo kare, metuya kare."

82 are still one. The sun is Bope, his younger brother the
775 moon is Bope, Burekoibo is Bope, jaguar, puma, ocelot are
776 Bope, but all of these are just different names for one Bope.

When recounting the deeds of the sun (Meri) and the moon (Ari), my informant said: "The sun did this, not the moon. But I think that they are not separated. What one does, the other does it too. They are just one."[1]

7. Earth vs. sky; meaningful speech vs. animal cry; singing vs. barking

Bope and Aroe occupy the same space. Aroe are everywhere; Bope too is everywhere: "Bope is in everything. There is not one thing in which Bope is not present."[2] On the other hand both Bope and Aroe have their more particular places. Bope lives in the sky, the Aroe are on the earth. Like the sun and the moon with which he is identified, Bope lives in the sky; the Aroe inhabit the villages of Bakororo (west) and Itubore (east). Coming from the sky to the earth in three steps, as he does in the preceding myth, the macaw is spatially making transition from nature to culture, from Bope to Aroe.

The same transition is made in the macaw's speech. First

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1 "Meri rore oino, Ari ema karega. Mare imearudae mitodure Meri ro rema. Ekare tuginoi ma ero padure pu me keje. Kode pu ro mitodure erore ema. Oino."

2 Awu Bope meture boe jamedu boe tada. Kodire iya metu kare t tada jiboe bokware."

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"--one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
[103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
[825] ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
533 of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Hugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)--personifications of Bope--are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
614 But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
361 Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the Enciclopedia Bororo show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7; Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

841
787
764 denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
787 the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
772 meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
533 it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
302 the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
237 is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
593 She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
152 them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
634 also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the
775 arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
304 can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
593 done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
614 to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child be-
comes a member of the human race, but particularly a member
of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
787 After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
533 were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
764 put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kuruqugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated--separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Ou wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[286] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to
123 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

/143 cont./

833 562 123 775 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day: "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down one beside the other, because one day they will die and then they are reunited."

864 115 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 171 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 [797] [533] [776] The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Borono SP8

761

DEATH CAUSES GREAT CONCERN among peoples of all levels of culture. Among primitive peoples, anxiety about death is especially keen because of the widespread belief that the spirit of the dead person may be displeased and may remain in the community to haunt and disturb the survivors. Consequently, it is extremely important to the survivors to dispose of the remains of a dead person in the prescribed manner and to demonstrate their concern for the deceased through the proper rituals. For this reason, the

[775] •

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[P. 39-D]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

766 they wish to decorate it. They say that the resurrectionists are not called by men, but directly by the bope, and no one is supposed to know who they are.

When the village awakes to find the bones already prepared, the din is again unchained, the mother and female friends again slash themselves from head to foot, wail, and daub their bodies with black paste made principally from a fruit called genipa-pa, while two men sit on a palm-leaf rug and decorate the skull with a layer of bright red makaw feathers. This weird drama continues all day with little interruption, the players and singers relieving one another from time to time. And if some of their brethren from a neighboring village should visit them, the bakororo, as this noise is called, may continue all night and all the next day. Finally the concert ceases, and at sunset the basket of bones is laid away in the little cemetery outside the village, where the bope will take possession of them in due season, though only the priest is supposed to know when. Through constant howling during the bakororo, the family of the deceased become so hoarse that they cannot speak above a whisper, but the drinking of clay water, they say, relieves them.

775 As the Bororó is "very bad," they say, he is doomed forever to
755 wander and suffer in the lower regions and be subject to constant eviction. He takes up his abode in the bodies of certain fish and mammals, and when the creature dies the spirit must seek a new dwelling and be exorcised from the bodies of fish, fowl, or beast by the priest before the meat can be eaten. To eat it without this ceremony would cause sickness and death. Not every creature, nor even every member of certain species, is inhabited by a bope. Its presence is indicated only by certain markings or other peculiarities. In exorcising the bope the priest faces and calls upon the sun with loud yells, ecstatic jumping and trembling, slapping the fish, spitting and blowing into its mouth. Corn also must be exorcised, as they say they were once made desperately sick by eating it without this ceremony. Only the priests are exalted to an abode with the sun at death; they are not chosen by men, but by the bope. It comes
755 about somewhat in this manner: Some day a Bororó may be taken with a fit, and a priest of the tribe will be called to determine the disease and to say whether he will live or die. After consideration he may say to those present, "Piadudu [humming-bird] is in deadly combat with a bope. If he surrenders to the bope he will become a priest, but if he continues to resist he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is considered that he has given himself up to the bope, and is therefore qualified for the priesthood. But the certificate of

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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place in the thoughts and doings of the Bororó as it does in the minds of all the peoples of the earth. Elucidating further, Prof. O. T. Mason says that, "In a general sense, religion is the sum of what is thought or believed about a spirit world and what is done in consequence of such thinking. What is thought about such a world constitutes *creed*, what is done or what a people does under its inspiration constitutes the *cult*. The *creed* and the *cult* together form the religion of any individual or people."

The religion of the Bororó is expressed chiefly by an elaborate system of diabolical rites and ceremonies for the placation of disembodied souls, or spirits, which they call *bopi*—demons; and a funeral is the occasion for the greatest display of the savage ritual, or *cult*. It is a great *musical* pandemonium, savage dirge, or hell's concert; or a sort of wild man's opera or tragic play, enacted by a primitive male quartette, mixed chorus and orchestra, and lasts several days and nights, first with the body present, and a week later, with the bones present.

When a member of the tribe becomes so ill that the family begins to fear for his life, one of the tribal priests, or sorcerers, is summoned to his hut where he lies naked on a palm-leaf mat spread upon the ground, to declare whether he will live or die. This primitive ecclesiastic may think, inspired with wicked cunning, that the sick one will die naturally within a certain number of days. Or, he may hold a grudge against the stricken man, and may consider this a good opportunity to balance accounts. So, in announcing to the family the number of days the patient will live, he mentally resolves that if death should not occur naturally at the time he shall name, he will see to it that it occurs, nevertheless, in some other way. Or, again, he may feel that life in the village has long been very dull and monotonous, and that there is immediate and urgent need of a social function or festival of some kind; and what could be more entertaining to the savage public than a good funeral *bakororó!* In this case, also, he will see to it that the victim dies at the time he indicates. In any event, he will take steps to have his predictions "come true" to the letter, in

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being enacted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside, a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glorious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut with the body present, continues night and day without intermission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilderness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public playground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de código*—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathizing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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[765] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are be-
[533] lieved to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who,
[775] being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings.
[533] During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday
[534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one
[775] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de-
[292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up
[535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

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entrances to the savage hall. Meanwhile, stepping outside the great hut, I saw, crouching close to the wall of the hut, the mother of the recently deceased, weeping, wailing and jibbering in a low, squeaky voice which was almost gone, her body emaciated, covered with gashes and besmeared with blood. She was a most pitiable appearing creature. How cruel are the customs of savagery!

The soul representative and his adjutants next danced and jerked themselves outside the great hut into the open air, then to the public playground on the edge of the village. Here, the trio, totally exhausted, sat on the ground, while an assistant proceeded to call the *bopi* in the persons of a few of his fellow savages who were to represent them, or act as the materialization of the demons. Standing in the center of the *ring*, he beckons and calls, offering perhaps a bit of tobacco to induce a few men to volunteer, while the remaining males of the village—for only the males participate in this part of the funeral rites—stand scattered about in the coarse grass and among the scraggy trees beyond the *ring*. At length, a savage offers to represent the *bopi* by dropping on all fours and beginning to creep very slowly toward the caller, or ringmaster, uttering constantly abdominal squeaks, in imitation, perhaps, of the note of the tapir, or of the wild pig. Approaching the center of the ring, he springs up suddenly on his *hind feet*, and with upraised arms rushes to the caller, where he takes his stand upon a spot prepared for him. Another and another volunteers in the same way until five *bopi* representatives are in line in the center of the ring. Balls of clay mud are now produced and the five *bopi* impersonators are painted drab from head to foot, black rings are marked around their eyes, the black figure of a serpent is sketched coiled around the body of one or two, and a quantity of mud is massed into their hair.

The caller now places himself in the path leading to the village, and beckons and calls as before, and the *bopi* representatives again drop on all fours and begin to creep very slowly toward him, emitting continuously their weird notes.

765 At the same time, the remainder of the savage band break
775 forth instantly into a wild uproar, yelling and screaming, throwing up their hands, dancing and jumping in their mad, though mock efforts to drive the *bopi* into the village, suggesting a squad of men and boys trying to drive a herd of obstinate hogs. Suddenly, a horrible shriek rends the air just in advance of the materialized *bopi*. This appears to frighten them, for they turn and begin to creep away from the village. The drivers now become still more frantic, yelling and shrieking, bellowing, chattering and jumping fiercely. Soon, however, the *bopi* are again headed toward the village; and entering the path, all spring up suddenly on their *hind feet*, mount their horses—fellow savages—gallop into the village, dismount, and crouch around the mound where the body lies buried, and claw the earth slightly, as if about to unearth the remains. They now quietly retire, their part in the savage rites having ended for the day.

The soul representative, who had re-entered the village in
[789] advance of the *bopi* representatives, now seated himself astride of the grave, and the father of the deceased having crouched beside him, he performed over him some enchantments to route any evil spirit that might be threatening him, or to make him invulnerable to their assaults. This he did making passes over the bereaved man's head, and muttering and blowing in his mouth, nose and ears. Following this, the soul representative deposited all his rigging on the mound save the *pariko*, or fan of brilliant feathers that adorned his head.

765 We now witnessed the ceremony of the transference of the
768 personal effects of the deceased from this world to the spirit world, for the Bororó, in their peculiar way, believe firmly in "laying up treasures in heaven." A fire was kindled, around which the soul representative, accompanied by an adjutant, danced sidewise, stiff-legged, while each article that had belonged to the deceased was passed by the father to the adjutant, who, in turn, handed them to the soul representative, who cast them one by one into the fire until all were consumed. They were only a few dirty toys, some rude ornaments made

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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of feathers, or of the teeth and claws of beasts, and one or two articles of wearing apparel made of bark. To us, they were merely a heap of rubbish, but to the poor natives, precious treasures. Having vanished in flame, the effects were considered transferred to the invisible world, and so *transubstantiated* that they could be of service to the newly arrived shade, or *bopi*.

One reason that the Bororó give for burning the belongings of the deceased is, that if they were allowed to remain in the hut, the family, constantly reminded by them of their lost ones, would be weeping, wailing and uttering lamentations continually, for it is their custom to cry and jibber loudly whenever anything revives the memory of their dead. Another reason for burning the effects is, that if they should not be burned, and hence not transferred to the shadow land, the soul would return to haunt and injure the family.

It was now about sunset, and the ceremonies of the day being concluded, all the men seated themselves cross-legged upon mats in two groups just outside the great hut, and a primitive banquet, or collation, was served. The banquet always forms an important part of every social function among savages.—Indeed, a social function among them is inconceivable without it. But do not banquets, suppers and buffet lunches constitute an important part, if not the most important part, of social events among civilized men? Yet civilized men do not usually have a banquet at a funeral, with the decomposing corpse lying but a few yards in front of them.

The chief items on the menu at this savage banquet were big clay potfuls of a kind of broth made of a starchy liquid wrung from the spongy stems of a dwarf palm and mixed with a sauce made from the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm, called *pyky* (peekee), *pyky* eaten raw, three kinds of wild potatoes, boiled or baked in the ashes, and a sort of cocoanut bread made by pulverizing in a mortar the meats of palmnuts and baking the mass in the ashes. There were no condiments. As each pot or tray of food appeared, a cheer was given by the group for whom it was intended.

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When the immediate family of the deceased have howled, wailed and chanted until they can scarcely articulate, they drink clay water, asserting that this relieves the throat somewhat. 765 [271]

Finally, I saw the basket of bones taken by the mother of the deceased, and buried in the little cemetery two or three miles from the village, where, it was believed, the *bopi* would take possession of them in a few weeks. The sorcerer is believed to know when the *bopi* removes the bones. [775]

A day or two after the conclusion of the funeral rites I witnessed, the father of the deceased, sent by the village authorities, disinterred the basket of bones and brought it back to the great hut. Three of the chief men from a distant village had arrived on a visit, whom it was necessary to receive with honors and entertain with the best festival the village could get up. And what could equal for entertainment a good funeral *bakororó?* But how could they have a funeral *bakororó* without a corpse, or at least the bones? As soon as the basket of bones was again brought into the great hut, pandemonium was once more in session, and the rattling, roaring, groaning, squatting, snorting, barking, weeping and wailing continued all the rest of the day and all night. At daybreak, the following morning, an intermission was taken in order that the players and actors in this savage drama might go fishing. They fished and hunted all day that they might have something to feast upon, for, of course, a *bakororó* without a banquet would scarcely be a *bakororó*. But when the darkness of night again enshrouded the land, the hideous uproar of the savage horde again burst upon our ears and did violence to the peace and tranquillity of the night until the dawn, when it was once more hushed, and the basket of bones was again entombed. [574]

Some of the Indians of the Rio Negro, hereinbefore mentioned, a score or two of families of whom live in one immense hut,—a primitive "flat,"—always bury their dead inside this hut under a few inches of earth, depositing the tobacco, ornaments and trinkets of the deceased in the grave with him. Some days after burial, a large quantity of fermented liquor is 000

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Chapter XXXV.

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THE SORCERERS.—EXORCISING AND FRIGHTENING AWAY DEMONS.—THE MYSTERY INSTRUMENTS.

The souls of the departed are believed by the Bororó to dwell, for a time at least, in the bodies of certain fish and mammals. But they do not appear to identify the disembodied soul—*bopi*—with the creature it inhabits, as do those people who believe in what is known as "transmigration of the soul." The Bororó soul is simply a tenant in the body of the creature it inhabits, maintaining a separate, independent existence, and continuing forever, supposedly, without any change occurring in its personality or character; though it is doomed to suffer evictions everlastingly from its temporary fleshly abodes at the hands of the conjurer, or because of the natural death and destruction of the body of the creature it lives in. The Bororó say that the moment a newly disembodied spirit—the soul of a member of their tribe who has just died—enters the body of some creature, the bones of the soul's former self disappear from the cemetery. The evil-minded sorcerer, doubtless, is responsible for the disappearance of the bones—if they really disappear. The Bororó do not think that every wild creature is tenanted by some wandering *bopi*—soul—but only those that bear unusual markings, such as especially bright colors, or are very large, or have some other peculiarity. They much admire a fish called *dourada* by the Brazilians, part of the body of which is a bright,

775 825

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8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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775 825 262 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while 775 825 262 756 789 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir, and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 825 756 789 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish, for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 262 756 789 Corn also appears to have some connection with the demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony.

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer.

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion

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that they have communications with and influence in the spirit world, and know what is occurring there; and have power to cause and avert evils and calamities. Hence, they are ever on the alert to seize upon every propituous occasion, and even to invent occasions to make merchandise of the superstitious fears of their fellow tribesmen for their own profit and aggrandizement.

As regards the ordinary civilized man, knowledge forces the mysterious, the unknown, the infinite, back from his immediate presence, compelling it to remain at a distance, thus enabling him to pass his days more or less unmindful of its existence. But to the primitive man, with his limited knowledge of the processes of Nature, the world about him is pregnant with mystery; it presses close upon him on all sides and he cannot be indifferent to it. The mysterious—that which is beyond his knowledge—the infinite—literally stares him in the face at every turn, and he is unable to fathom it. Ignorant of causes, he views with superstitious thoughts every event, and everything in Nature that is in any degree unusual or abnormal—everything that seems to project, never so little, beyond the dead monotony of natural phenomena. Indeed, his knowledge is so limited, and his imagination so easily inflamed, that he readily creates for himself all sorts of unusual occurrences and phantasms without any foundation. His imagination is most active during the hours of darkness. Like a timid child, he sees terrifying shapes everywhere. The thunder and lightning, the wind, the sun and the moon in their various phenomena, the cries of birds and beasts, and the direction from which they cry, all convey to his uncultured mind some omen of good or evil. If the *kowó* (a bird) utters its cry at evening from the east, it means that "white man come;" and if from the west, "Bororó die."

Our Bororó friends who crowded about us during the whole of every day, always withdrew from our hut at sunset, retiring to their village, and we usually saw no more of them until daybreak. But late in the evening on two or three occasions, we heard a tramping of barefooted men approaching

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our hut, and immediately thereafter a horde of excited and frightened savages swarmed in upon us. The cause of their alarm was quickly explained to us: One of their number had imagined he saw the forms of strange men moving about mysteriously in the jungle near the village, which was interpreted by some of his fellows to mean that the soldiers were coming to attack and carry them away. At another time, apparitions of the dead were thought to have been seen; so the following day the natives solemnly and mysteriously prepared the *roarrrs* in order to frighten away the threatening evil.

It is partly, or chiefly, to pacify departed souls by honoring them and giving them a good send off, that the elaborate funeral ceremonies already described, occur. And the fact that nearly all the rites and ceremonies of the Bororó are observed for the pacification of demons is the reason why the ritual is so hideous and diabolical. Men whose gods are devils only, can have nothing but a devilish ceremonial.

As already stated, the Bororó, like the Karayá, entertain an anamistic conception of the world. They do not appear to have any idea of a good spirit, or good spirits. Attempting to translate the word God into their language, or to communicate to them in a small degree the thought that this word stands for, we had to make use of the words, *Bopi camahina pêmêgâre iruducâre*, which is literally, Spirit, greatest, good, without equal. But this is quite unsuitable for a permanent translation and a word for God would have to be transliterated, or a new word coined.

Mingling with the Bororó, one somehow gets the impression that perhaps they once had a conception of a good spirit. But, as the good spirits never did them any harm, nor threatened them with evil, while numerous evil spirits are constantly menacing them, they came naturally to devote so much attention to the latter that they long ago forgot all about the former. Thus they have degenerated in mind and heart, it would seem, with the result that in the whole outward expression of their lives, they have retrograded from a higher to a lower social and moral state.

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Brazil.

The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

B 772 811 /352 cont./ interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in B [186] the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in B [171] all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó BO [827] maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their B [186] neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with BO 772 811 strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death, /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the [775] araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

B 772 811 [171] Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a habit of water animals; the Bororó are araras because their dead are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

/492 cont./

simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara, tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends," who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

/511 cont./

794 828 The Kayapó were truly in the vicinity of the village; no one doubted it. From his own experience Clemente confirmed the accuracy of their predictions. If the wife left behind in the village while her husband is absent on a hunting expedition, sitting half the night alone in her hut, has loudly lamented and grieved for a few hours and then lies down to sleep, her soul will certainly find the hunters, and, after awakening, the women will always give accurate accounts of where they are now and when they will return. The proximity of the enemy is discovered in the dream, people flee, and he enters a deserted village.

763 It is quite true that in the case of a person who is very ill the baris accurately predict the day of his death. Not only was the child whom I mentioned on page 568 killed when the time came, but even in the case of Coqueiro's wife artificial means were employed. She was brought, still alive, into the ranchão; her face was covered with a cloth and she suffocated under the cover. According to the baris, she was to die on the fourth day, and she died. I believe one can easily understand this tampering with Atropos' handiwork, particularly in the case of a frequently roving hunter tribe, even if it does not put human beings and animals on the same level quite as seriously as the Bororó, because they are accustomed to giving dying animals the finishing stroke and are not in a position to remain for an arbitrary period in some localities. The fact that the baris know how to benefit by this custom is another matter.

761 795 [171] Ideas about death and the existence after death differ essentially from those of the Kulisehu Indians insofar as the medicine men responsible for the death do not live in a neighboring village and carry on their magic art there, but are in certain animals, which are unfortunately or foolishly killed and which now avenge themselves by taking away the living. [171] Whereas the medicine man of the Bakaïrí transforms himself into animals only temporarily in narcosis and after death goes to heaven in human shape, here death itself is nothing but a transformation into animals, a dream, the reality of which has become visible to all.

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/511 cont./

775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists, or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 792 825 [262]

775 825 [186] The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color, emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

[774]

/512 cont./

● 775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[261] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

/513 cont./

792 schema "transmigration of souls." They experience "transmigra-
775 tion of souls" every night. That animals and human beings are
825 merely different persons is far more important than that one assumes a closer relationship to some animal-person or other as a result of subsequent considerations. I can really understand these people most readily if I regard the assertion, which seems to be the most recent and the most confusing, namely, their saying "we are birds," as the most ancient and the simplest, and not imagine them as saying "I shall become a bird," but rather "I have a bird -- please, not in the sense of the Berliners /who would mean, "I'm a bit touched" (Translator)/ -- I am a bird who now flies about at night but some day, hopefully in the distant future, will no longer fly back to his family if some other person, a human being, a bird, or a mammal, that I have fatally injured succeeds in preventing this, and who will then be forced to retain its nocturnal form and henceforth, as a white egret, will catch fish in the lagoon and earnestly hope that child and grandchildren will not shoot and eat him, but merely, if necessary, pluck out his feathers."

821 Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration. Sun and moon are arara feathers. I did not succeed in discovering what ideas exist about their owners. The Bororó laughed at me, however, when I asked them whether sun and moon were like human beings, and repeated "arara feathers," arara feathers and not merely arara, as though they might be birds. We live on a large island in the middle of a river called the "baruparu" -- the reduplication of "baru," "heaven." Moon and sun (or their owners) are on one side and wander across the river; when they come together, the moon passes over and the new moon comes.

The Southern Cross is the toes of a large ostrich, Centaurus is an accompanying leg, Orion is a jabuti turtle and, in the part toward Sirius, a cayman, the Pleiades are the tuft of flowers of the angico tree, Acacia; the Bororó showed me all this with great pleasure, /514/ and in doing so they often uttered an ih... of admiration, but they did not always agree about the interpretation, so that it was doubly difficult for me to discover it. About one

773 to wait for him, but the man would not wait and continued walking and whistling. The fish-child returned home and asked, "Why does my father act like this, he does not like me for he always leaves me behind." The mother then explained, "You are not his son, you are a little fish." The boy was very sad and answered, "As I have no father I do not wish to live." He then went out in the woods, climbed a tree, and began jumping from one tree to another until he became tired and fell down and died. The woman went looking for him and found his body and brought it back to her house. The woman was very angry with her husband and explained who the boy was. The husband was sorry for what he had done and both of them went out and buried the fish-boy. From his corpse grew the following crops: Sweet-potatoes from his testicles, pepper from his eyes, and beans from his ears.

GHOSTS

●775 When a person dies his ghost (*aruwanti*) goes into the sky, climbing up on a ladder made of sipo vine. The ladder is guarded by a cotia, a rabbitlike rodent, who calls out everytime a ghost is going up or down. Another version states that in the old days the ghosts went up the ladder and later came down as living beings, but one day the cotia gnawed away the ladder so that when a person dies today he can no longer go into the sky and return to the earth as a living being but must remain here as a ghost. The *aruwanti* sometimes enter the bodies of birds and animals. The ghost of an old bearded hunter is believed to enter the body of a jaguar or an eagle so that he can continue hunting. When a jaguar is killed the Umotina examine it carefully, for they believe that they can recognize whose ghost lived in it.

Some ghosts are good; others are evil and cause sickness. The good ghosts are those who have a living human representative whose body they can enter during the annual *arduato* ceremony and who have living relatives who make offerings to them. Evil ghosts are foreign ghosts or the ghosts of Umotina who have died away from the village or who have no relatives to make offerings to them. When a person dies, the relatives in-
764 vite some man from another family to bury the
775 corpse. This man then becomes the ceremonial or spirit father, mother, brother, sister, son, or

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died,
775 and once every year the ghost returns and enters
the body of the person who did the burying and
[782] dances in the *arduato*. But if the deceased has
no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts,
then the ghost becomes angry and does harm.
He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the
form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people.
Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina
775 is the *arduato*, which is given every year at the
beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities
[782] of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by
the family heads who have ghosts to whom they
must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion.
There appears to be four classes of spirits: the
pódopódo or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no
relatives but must be appeased during the *arduato;*
and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female
correspondents of the above-mentioned male
292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buriti leaves, which reach
from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above
their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and
fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is
the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied
around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made
from buriti bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a
costume made by suspending a buriti leaf mantle
from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter.
A mask made from a net is placed on top of the
hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and
holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the
women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and
534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
533 length and is made from taquara. It is played
from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arduato* are those men who have
lost relatives since the *arduato* the year before.
These men usually combine in collecting the food
and building a temporary house in which the
dancers dress for the ceremony. When the
ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles
to the givers of the feast, who use them for making
mats.

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has *sons of his own they go out* in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motokdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

● 775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

775 another while living, he might be punished after death by having his ghost killed. There appears, thus, to be a relationship between the life of the ghosts in the spirit world and the tensions existing between the families which were not direct kin with one another. Even while alive the ghosts

[p. 111 (a)]

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775 punished evildoers. If a man does an injury to another, the injured man's father's or brother's ghost would come at night and beat him. To be sure that one's ghost would survive, the Umotina say a man must be good to his relatives and must not quarrel with the people in the village.

[p. 111 (B)]